/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkõ (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d)), from the cacuri, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacuri will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

• 846 *[192] About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must, then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3)), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/366 cont./

846 The first time they go to the clearing after the birth of any child, they practice a special ritual called "mixpĩ purĩ-ré dõ̃ tekũ̃sé," that is, the entwining of the leaves of the açaĩ /assai/. The father goes in front, and behind, the mother carrying the child. The father, at more or less every ten meters or steps, ties two by two the leaflets of the açaĩ, and throws them on the road. If they must cross any stream, and the child is of the male sex, he makes a kind of canoe with the leaves and puts it on the /367/ water. The purpose of these practices is to ensure that the child and those of his house never lose their way, wi'seri-khãra-re mĩx'pĩ pũrĩ-ré dõxté-kũsé.

*[192]

837 The newly married woman who seeks out many other men becomes transformed during the night into an anta and goes out through the forest to graze (78).

78. There were indicated to us two cases of similar transformations, both having happened shortly before this information was given (1953), one that was supposed to have taken place in Urubucuara and another in Iauareté, the name of these wives "without shame," according to the expression of one of the informants, being cited to us.

*[192] It is what is called "wexkõ dohogó" (literally: ruined into an anta). At dawn she is again transformed into a woman and returns, still taking bits of grass from her teeth. An indication of this event is the paleness of the wife. When she goes out at night, however, she leaves her legs in the hammock. When the husband sees this, he turns the legs in the opposite position, that is, toward the head of the hammock. For this reason, on the following day the woman will feel strong pains in her hips. On the following night the husband turns them in the direction opposite that of the first time, and the wife's pains will cease.

/428 cont./

844 [608] Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] [276] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

• 846 *[192] 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

[115] 44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 [178] As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely • 846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state * [192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father. For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days (46):

[797]

> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

593
755

> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitro-Itsch, when superior of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

[115]

/429 cont./

593
755

/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

• 846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

> 48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

843
826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

• 846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. [789] The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The [856] third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kürûdjü*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow.

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. 846 It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel 789 the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward [604] the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is [622] responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother [756] paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood [757] charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this [837] period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant.

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so 846 that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All 789 fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a 262 lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjũ*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokũ* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahü* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahümikü* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-